

Archæological Notes on Mandalay

WITH TWO PLANS

By TAW SEIN KO, I.S.O.
Supdt., Archæological Survey, Burma



PRICE & EIGHT ANNAS

Chas. H. Rowell
Mandalay, Burma, Dec 17, 1923

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES ON MANDALAY

BY

TAW SEIN KO, I.S.O.

SUPERINTENDENT, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA



RANGOON

SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRINTING, BURMA

1917

Contents.

	PAGES
Scheme for Sight-seeing at Mandalay and Amarapura	5
Mandalay Hill	8
Kyauktawgyi Pagoda	8—9
Thudama <i>Zayat</i>	9
Patan <i>Zayat</i>	<i>ib.</i>
Thudama <i>Kyaung</i>	10
Sandamani Pagoda	<i>ib.</i>
Maha-Lawka-Mayazein or Kuthodaw Pagoda . .	<i>ib.</i>
Remains of the Atumashi <i>Kyaung</i> or Incomparable	
Monastery	11
Shwe-Nandaw <i>Kyaung</i>	11—12
Salin Monastery	12
Sangyaung Monastery	<i>ib.</i>
Taiktaw Monastery	13
Fort Dufferin and the Palace	13—15
Queen's Monastery	15
Man-aung Yadana Pagoda	<i>ib.</i>
Setkyathiha Pagoda	16
Eindawya Pagoda	<i>ib.</i>
Zegyo Bazaar	17
Arakan Pagoda	17—19
Sangyaung Monasteries, Amarapura	20
Patodawgyi Pagoda	<i>ib.</i>
Chinese Temple, Amarapura	21
Kyauktawgyi Pagoda, Amarapura	<i>ib.</i>
Report on the Mandalay Palace	22
List of Exhibits in the Palace Museum	33
Bibliography	39

Scheme for Sight-seeing at Mandalay and Amarapura.

First Day—Mandalay.

Morning: Mandalay Hill, Kyauktawgyi Pagoda, Thudama *Zayat*, Patan *Zayat*, Thudama *Kyaung*.

Evening: Sandamani Pagoda, Kuthodaw Pagoda, Remains of the Atumashi *Kyaung*, Shwenandaw *Kyaung*.

Second Day—Mandalay.

Morning: Salin Monastery, Sangyaung Monastery, Taiktaw Monastery, the Palace, and the Museum.

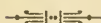
Evening: Queen's Monastery, Setkyathiha Pagoda, Eindawya Pagoda, Zegyo Bazaar, Arakan Pagoda.

Third Day—Amarapura.

Morning: Sangyaung Monasteries, Patodawgyi Pagoda, Chinese Temple.

Evening: Taungthaman Kyauktawgyi.

Archæological Notes on Mandalay.



THE notes on the principal buildings of Mandalay are culled mainly from the Annual Reports of the Archæological Department and are intended to meet the requirements of tourists, who wend their way to the capital of Upper Burma in increasing numbers, and who are expected to spend, at least, three days in sight-seeing. The foundation of Mandalay was begun in 1856-57, during the turmoil of the Indian Mutiny, and it was formally occupied in 1859, the transfer of the Government from Amarapura being completed in 1860. It continued to be the capital of the Kingdom of Burma till the 1st January 1886, when it was incorporated in the British Empire, after the surrender of King Thibaw, the eleventh king of the Alaungpaya dynasty, to General Sir Harry Prendergast, and Colonel E. B. Sladen at the conclusion of the Third Anglo-Burmese War, which broke out in November 1885 and lasted scarcely a month. Thus Mandalay is barely sixty years old, and the great majority of the monuments were constructed within that period.

In order to elucidate these notes, a plan of the Palace and a map of Mandalay are appended; and to render assistance in a wider study of Burmese history, architecture, and antiquities, a bibliography is also annexed.

The dominating physical feature of the plain on which Mandalay Town is situated is the

Mandalay Hill, which is 954 feet high, and from whose summit a panoramic view of the surrounding country is obtained.

The following prophecy was attached to the Mandalay Hill: အသက်ရှည်စေလို။ မြေနန္ဒာရေညှိ သန်း။ ခန်းထောင်ရှိပ်ချီ။ “He, who wishes to live long, should seek the shelter of the Mandalay Hill, which is crossed by the green waters of the Emerald Nanda Lake.” It was one of the factors which contributed to the foundation of a city nestling under its shadow.

During the last six years, the Mandalay Hill and its vicinity have been embellished by the *Yathegy* (or Hermit) U Khanti with many religious buildings, at a cost of over seven lakhs of rupees, which were raised by public subscription. On the south-eastern spur of the Hill has been erected a stone temple, wherein will be deposited the sacred relics of the Lord Buddha, which were discovered by Dr. D. B. Spooner of the Archæological Survey at Peshawar and delivered to the Burmese delegates, in March 1910, by His Excellency Lord Minto, Viceroy and Governor-General of India. These relics have found a temporary resting-place in the Arakan Pagoda, and are exhibited for worship on the four days of the Buddhist sabbath in each month.

First Day.

Leaving the Mandalay Hill by the southern entrance, the **Kyauktawgyi Pagoda** is first reached. It contains an image of the Buddha carved out of a single block of marble from the mines of

Sagyin, which are a few miles to the north of Mandalay, under the orders of King Mindôn (1853—1878). The figures of the eighty *arhats* or disciples of the Buddha are arranged around the central shrine: twenty on each side. The carving of the image was completed in 1865, and the dedication ceremony was performed amidst great rejoicing, the King himself being present at the festivities. The foundations of the temple corroborate the statement that the original intention was to construct a pagoda on the model of the celebrated Ananda Temple at Pagan. The royal design was, however, frustrated by the abortive rebellion headed by the Myingun and Myingundaing Princes, which broke out in 1866. A multiple roof of stucco in iron framework has been built over the image by the Hon'ble Sir Sao Mawng, K.C.I.E., K.S.M., Chief of the Shan State of Yawngphwe.

Leaving the Kyauktawgyi Pagoda by the eastern entrance, the building on the right is the **Thudama Zayat**, with its pillared hall, which was built in 1859, and was used for holding ecclesiastical convocations and the highest ecclesiastical tribunal. The annual *Patamabyan* or Theological examination in the Pāli language was held in it, and, in 1902, the election of the *Thathanabaing* or Buddhist Archbishop was held near it.

On the left is the **Patan Zayat**, which was used as an *annexe* of the **Thudama Zayat**. In it Pāli hymns were chanted by the monks who attended an ecclesiastical convocation.

A little to the south-west of the Thudama *Zayat* is the **Thudama Kyaung**, a small monastery with carvings, which was built in 1868, to be used as a refectory whenever ecclesiastical convocations were convened at the former building.

Across the roadway to the east, and nearly opposite the Thudama *Zayat*, is the **Sandamani Pagoda**, with its high parapet walls. In October of each year, a festival is held in its honour, and it is in charge of the descendants of the Crown Prince, who was Mindôn's younger brother. It contains the graves of the Crown Prince, the Sagu *Mintha* and the Malun *Mintha*, who all lost their lives in the Myingun rebellion of 1866. It also contains an iron image cast by Bodawpaya in 1802, and removed from Amarapura by Mindôn in 1874.

Leaving the Sandamani Pagoda by the eastern entrance, one may proceed a few hundred yards to the north-east, and visit the celebrated **Maha-Lawka-Mayazein** or **Kuthodaw Pagoda**, which was built in 1857 by King Mindôn on the model of the Shwezigôn Pagoda of Pagan. Six years ago, it was completely regilt by the Hon'ble U Po Tha, a well-known paddy broker of Rangoon, at a cost of Rs. 30,000. Its distinctive feature is the collection of 729 stone slabs, on which is inscribed the whole of the Tripitaka or Buddhist Canon. In other words, the Pagoda contains an authorised version of the Buddhist Bible, which is prized by all Oriental scholars. The collection of these tablets is unique in the Buddhist world.

Facing the Kuthodaw Pagoda on the south are the Remains of the **Atumashi Kyaung**, or **Incomparable Monastery**, which was built by King Mindôn in 1857 at a cost of about five lakhs of rupees. The building was of wood, covered with stucco on the outside, and its peculiar feature was its being surmounted by five graduated rectangular terraces instead of the customary pyramidal *pyatthat* or pavilion. In it was enshrined a huge image of the Buddha, whose dimensions were in accordance with those prescribed in the Buddhist Scriptures. It was made of the silken clothes of the King and covered with lacquer, and its forehead was adorned with a diamond weighing 32 *rattis*, which was presented to King Bodawpaya, about a century ago, by Mahānawrata, Governor of Arakan. In the building were deposited, in large teak boxes, four complete sets of the Tripitaka, and the monastery, together with its invaluable contents, was entrusted to the custody of the late Pakan *Sayadaw*, one of the most learned and ablest of Buddhist ecclesiastics. During the troubles following the British annexation of Upper Burma, the valuable diamond disappeared, and the whole building was burnt in 1890.

Adjoining the remains of the **Atumashi Kyaung** on the east is the **Shwe-Nandaw Kyaung**, which was built by King Thibaw, in 1880, mainly of materials obtained by dismantling the apartments occupied by King Mindôn just before his death, at a cost of about one lakh and twenty thousand rupees. The whole building is heavily gilt

and adorned with glass mosaic work. Its carvings and architecture compare very favourably with those of the Queen's Monastery in A Road.

Second Day.

On the morning of the second day, the traveler should wend his way to the **Salin Monastery**, which is close to the Rifle Range and the European cemetery. It was built in 1876 by the Salin Princess, the Tabindaing *Minthami*, who was, according to custom, to have married King Thibaw, but who committed suicide, on being supplanted by the notorious Supayalat and her elder sister, through a palace intrigue. The carving with which it is adorned is probably the finest in Burma, and is a good specimen of indigenous architecture, which has not been affected by European influence.

On the return journey, the **Sangyaung Monastery**, which is situated on North Moat Road, may be visited. It was built by King Mindôn in 1859 with the materials obtained by dismantling a royal summer house at Amarapura, and was assigned to the Sangyaung *Sayadaw* for his residence. This monk was the King's Preceptor, and had expected, in accordance with custom, to be appointed Buddhist Archbishop on the accession of his disciple to the throne; but that high office was conferred on U Nyeya, the Preceptor of the Chief Queen. In order to console him in his keen disappointment, a special monastery, which was unrivalled in splendour and in its

wealth of carving and gilding, was constructed under royal command, and was presented to the learned *Sayadaw*.

Fort Dufferin should be entered by the east gate. Close to the bridge spanning the moat is the **Taiktaw Monastery**, the official residence of *Thathanabaings* or Archbishops, which was built in 1859. Its interior is heavily gilt, and the style of its carving is much bolder than that of similar structures at Mandalay.

As one enters the **Palace** grounds, the high building on the right is the **Clock Tower**, and that on the left is the **Tooth-Relic Tower**. To the north of the former are the **Royal Tombs**, the central being the **Mausoleum of King Mindôn**; and to the south of the latter is the **Glass Monastery**, which was erected to mark the site where Prince Thibaw passed his days as a monk before he was called to the throne. Crossing a spacious courtyard, the eastern entrance of the **Palace** is reached. The **Palace** was originally built in 1845 by *Shwebo Min*, who was *Mindôn's* father, and was removed, in 1857, almost bodily from *Amarapura* to its present site. The spire over the **Lion Throne** is known to the *Burmans* as the "*Myenan Pyatthat*," which *Sir George Scott* has happily rendered as the "**Centre of the Universe**." Out of 120 buildings, a good number have been dismantled; and the annexed plan indicates their position and uses. The **Museum** containing the ceremonial dresses of the *Royal personages* and the officials

and their wives should be visited, as well as the **Model Shed** at the western end of the Palace, which contains models of the buildings as they stood at the time of the British annexation.

The Palace is built on a raised platform, which is six feet high, and measures 900 feet in length and 500 feet in breadth. The eastern third was reserved for men, while the remaining major portion was assigned to the use of queens, royal concubines, princesses, and maids-of-honour. The western end of the **Glass Palace** forms the boundary line between the Eastern and Western Divisions of the Palace.

Originally, there were **nine thrones** in the Palace. Of these the Lion Throne in the *Hluttaw* and the Elephant Throne in the *Byèdaik* have been dismantled, the former having been deposited in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, and the latter having disappeared. The remaining are the following :—

(1) The Lion Throne in the Great Audience Hall, in the Eastern Porch, used three times a year, in April, July, and October, for the reception of feudatory chiefs, ministers, and members of the Royal Family.

(2) The Duck Throne in the Ancestral Hall, used for the informal reception of foreign ambassadors.

(3) The Bee Throne in the Glass Palace, used for the solemnization of domestic ceremonies, as the celebration of nuptials, the admission into the Noviciate of Princes and the boring of the ears of Princesses.

(4) The Conch Throne in the Morning Levée Hall, used on the occasion of the King issuing the warrant for the appointment of an Heir-Apparent.

(5) The Deer Throne in the Southern Hall, used for inspecting the offerings to be made to Buddhist monks.

(6) The Peacock Throne in the Northern Hall, used for reviewing troops, races, and tournaments.

(7) The Lily Throne in the Ladies' Hall, in the Western Porch, which is a counterpart of No. (1), was used by the King and Chief Queen for the reception of ladies three times a year, in April, July, and October.

The **Queen's Monastery** in A Road, on the way to the office of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company, may be visited next. It was built in 1885 by Queen Supayalat, just a few months before the British annexation. It is a very fine specimen of Burmese architecture, and, at one time, it presented a brilliant mass of gilding, which has been much tarnished by the weather.

The **Man-aung Yadana Pagoda** at Wagingôn, to the east of St. John's Leper Asylum, may be omitted, unless there is time to spare. It is about three miles from the Queen's Monastery. It was built by King Thibaw, in 1881, after the model of the Kuthodaw Pagoda at the foot of the Mandalay Hill. The King is known in Burmese history as the "Builder of the Man-aung Yadana Pagoda." Both its historical and architectural interest lies in its being the shrine built by the last king

of the Burmese race, and in its constituting the last link in the long series of religious edifices marking the sites of the capitals of Burma.

The **Setkyathiha Pagoda** is a few hundred yards to the north-east of the Queen's Monastery. It contains a bronze image of the Buddha, which was cast by King Bagyidaw (1819—1837) in 1823 at Ava. It is a curious coincidence that the first Anglo-Burmese war broke out shortly afterwards, that in 1852 the second war broke out after its removal from Ava to Amarapura in 1849, and that in 1885 the third war, which extinguished the Kingdom of Burma, broke out after it had been removed from Amarapura to Mandalay in 1884. Any movement of the image portended a national calamity. In spite of its evil reputation as a harbinger of disaster, it is one of the finest specimens of Burmese art. In finish, workmanship, expression, and artistic proportion it is scarcely equalled by similar images found elsewhere in the Province.

On the west bank of the Shwetachaung Canal and to the north-west of the Setkyathiha Pagoda is the **Eindawya Pagoda**, built in 1847 by King Pagan (1846—1852) on the site of the residence occupied by him before he came to the throne. It is a shrine of fine proportions and is gilt from top to bottom. When Amarapura was the capital, a long avenue of trees led from the Pagoda to the Palace, through which the King daily saw his work of merit and obtained spiritual gratification. The most sacred object of worship in it is the

Mahuya or chalcedony image of the Buddha, brought from Bodh-gaya in India in 1839, during the reign of Shwebo *Min*.

After seeing the Eindawya Pagoda, one should cross over to the eastern bank of the Shwetachaung Canal and have a look at the **Zegyo Bazaar**, the grandest building of its kind in the East, with its varied nationalities and its variegated wares offered for sale. At the Zegyo terminus, near the Clock Tower, the tram could be taken, which stops at the eastern entrance of the **Arakan Pagoda**, enshrining the celebrated Mahāmuni Image, the Palladium of the Arakanese race. The image was removed to Amarapura from Mrohaung in Arakan in 1784 as a spoil of war, after the conquest of that country by the Burmese. At pages 44-45 of Phayre's *History of Burma*, the following description is given of it:—

“In the year A.D. 146, a king called Chanda-Surya succeeded to the throne (of Arakan). In his reign, a metal image of Buddha was cast, and so famous did it become, that miraculous powers were attributed to it for ages afterwards. This image was carried away by the Burmese when they conquered Arakan in 1784. It is now in a temple to the north of Amarapura, and is an object of fervent devotion. It is probable that, in the reign of Chanda-Surya, Buddhism was more distinctly established than heretofore, and images of Buddha may then have been introduced for the first time.”

The image is in the usual sitting posture, that is to say, with the legs folded under the body, and

is placed on a masonry pedestal six feet ten inches in height. Its dimensions are :

			Ft.	In.
Height	..	..	12	7
Round the waist	..	..	9	6
Round the arms	..	..	4	11
Breadth from shoulder to shoulder	..	..	6	1
Breadth at base	..	..	9	0

Four entrances facing the cardinal points lead to the central shrine. The corridor passages of the entrances are adorned with frescoes illustrating the teachings of the Buddhist Scriptures.

In the inner courtyard on the south and west sides are two oblong sheds containing a number of inscribed stones. They record all the cultivated and other lands in Burma, the revenue of which has been dedicated to religious purposes. About a hundred years ago, King Bodawpaya, noticing the shrinkage of the income of the Royal Exchequer due to the large extent of the *Wuttagan* lands or religious endowments, ordered the collection of inscriptions dedicating lands to pagodas with the object of curtailing their area, and re-dedicating the lands so curtailed. The new inscriptions engraved by command of the King were deposited in the Arakan Pagoda, while the originals, which were about 600 in number, were left in a neglected condition near the Singyo-Shweku Pagoda. They were rediscovered by the Archæological Department in 1905, and were deposited in the precincts of the Patodawgyi Pagoda at Amarapura.

Not far from the western entrance is a group of **bronze figures** consisting of two figures of

men, three of lions, and one of a three-headed elephant. The human figures are anatomically perfect in expression, proportion, and in the representation of the muscles of the body and limbs. They wear necklets, armlets, and anklets, and a scanty loin-cloth. The navel is deep and well developed, and pilgrims afflicted with dyspepsia or other stomachic ailments insert their fingers into it and turn them about in a rotatory movement, so as to be cured of their affliction. Tradition says that, originally, the number of the human figures was thirty-three, corresponding to the number of *devas* in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven. The heads of the three lions have disappeared, and attempts, somewhat unsuccessful, have been made by the Pagoda Trustees to restore them. The most interesting figure in the collection is that of the three-headed elephant called “Erāvaṇṇa” or “Erāvata,” the *vāhana* or riding animal of Indra, the god of rain and the Lord of Tāvatiṃsa. The river Irrawaddy (Erāvati), the noble waterway of Burma, is so called because it is supposed to flow out of one of the trunks of Indra’s elephant. These figures were brought over from Arakan in 1784 together with the Mahāmuni Image, when that country was conquered and annexed to the Burmese dominions.

Third Day.

On the morning of the third day, the tourist may betake himself to Myohaung, the second

railway station from Mandalay, and admire the beauty of the carvings of the **Sangyaung Monasteries**, which are a little to the south-east of the railway station. They consist of the Mèdaw and Thamidaw *Kyaungs*, which were built in 1843, during the reign of Shwebo *Min*, by his Chief Queen and her daughter, and were dedicated as the residence of U Nyeya, a learned Buddhist monk, who was then Archbishop. Subsequently, the Princess became the Chief Queen of King Mindôn (1852—1878), and her Preceptor or *guru*, U Nyeya, was, for the second time, raised to the dignity of the Head of the Buddhist church. Owing to the rank and wealth of the Foundress of the monastery, and to the high ecclesiastical status of its occupant, the resources of Burmese art were lavished on it.

The traveller should then proceed to the Amarapura station, where there is a two-roomed bungalow, which could be occupied with the previous permission of the Deputy Commissioner, Mandalay. A little to the north of the bungalow is the **Patodawgyi Pagoda**, which was built by King Bagyidaw in 1820, when Amarapura was the capital. Like some of the notable pagodas of Pagan, it is decorated with glazed tiles, and is the largest building of its type in Upper Burma. Its premises contain a stone inscription setting forth its history, and a large brass bell. On its western face have been deposited the six hundred original epigraphs, which were collected, over a hundred years ago, by King Bodawpaya, from various parts of the country.

The railway line has to be crossed towards the east in order to visit the **Chinese Temple**, which is worth seeing. It was built over a hundred years ago, and presents a vivid contrast to the Buddhist structures in the neighbourhood.

Provided that there is sufficient time to spare, the traveller should cross the long wooden bridge (ဦးပိန္နဲထံတား) which spans the Taungthaman Lake, and visit the **Kyauktawgyi Pagoda**, which was built in 1847 by King Pagan on the model of the Ananda Pagoda at Pagan. It is the best preserved of the numerous religious buildings at the deserted capital of Amarapura, and exemplifies a type of architecture which, though borrowed from the Indian designs at Pagan, was constructed entirely by Burmese architects. The artistic interest of the temple lies in the numerous frescoes with which its four porches are adorned. They represent religious buildings, in various styles of architecture, built or repaired by the Royal Founder at Sagaing, Amarapura, Ava, Pakangyi, Prome, and Rangoon, as well as the planets and constellations according to Burmese ideas of astronomy. The human figures are of special interest as they depict the dresses, manners, and customs of the period.

The Mandalay Palace.

THE city of Mandalay, built in 1857 by King Mindôn, is in the form of a square, each side of which is 10 furlongs in length. The battlemented wall of brick and mud mortar has a total height of 27 feet (the crenellations, being 7 feet high), is 10 feet thick in the lower portion and 4 feet 4 inches in the crenellations, and is backed by an earthen rampart. There are twelve gates, three on each side at equal distances from each other, surmounted by *pyatthats* or pavilions, and there is also a *pyatthat* at each corner of the wall, making 48 in all. The central gate on each side is larger than the others, and, in Burmese times, was reserved for the passage of Royalty.

The *pyatthats* over these four main gates have seven storeys each, the others only five. A moat averaging 225 feet wide and 11 feet deep surrounds the city, and was formerly kept full by a channel from the Aungbinlè Lake, but, since 1902, the supply has been drawn from the Mandalay Irrigation Canal. The moat is now crossed by five road bridges, one to each main gate and one to the south-eastern gate which was formerly reserved for funeral processions, a corpse being an object of desecration and taboo. There are also two railway bridges entering by modern gates on the south and north faces, and a foot bridge on the north; in former times, there were, in all, twelve bridges corresponding to the gates. Each gateway is guarded by a masonry curtain, and is under the protection of a tutelary *nat* or spirit represented by a stone image. Tradition says that the city is also under the protection of the disembodied spirits of human beings, who were buried alive under jars of oil at

each corner of the walls.¹ To the right of each curtain stands a massive teak post bearing the name of the gate. The *pyatthat* over one of the northern gateways has been extended along the ramparts at each side and forms a residence for the Lieutenant-Governor.

The Palace occupies the central space in the city. It was removed from Amarapura by King Mindôn in 1857 A.D., and was re-erected at Mandalay. It was originally built by Shwebo *Min* in 1845 A.D. Its architecture is unique, and recalls its prototypes of Nipal and Magadha. The Palace stood within two enclosures: the outer consisted of a stockade of teakwood posts, 20 feet high, and the inner was a brick wall about 15 feet in height. There was an esplanade, 60 feet wide, between the two enclosures. Each side of the outer enclosure measured about three furlongs. The inner enclosure was cut up into numerous courts surrounded by high walls, and in the very centre was a third brick enclosure containing the Palace. (The stockade and the brick walls were removed after the British occupation of Mandalay.)

The Palace faces east and the east gate is the main entrance. As one enters the grounds by this gate the Clock Tower (A-1 on plan) is seen on the right and the Tooth-relic Tower (A-2 on plan) on the left. A water-clock was used and a big bell and drum were beaten every third hour. According to this reckoning, day and night each consists of four watches, and begins at 9 o'clock. The Tooth-relic Tower is probably a heritage from the Talaings of Pegu. There was much intercourse between the Peguans and the Sinhalese, and, in the seventeenth century A.D., the King of Ceylon palmed off on the King of Pegu an adopted daughter and a false tooth of Gautama Buddha.

A little to the north of the clock-tower is King Mindôn's

¹ This burial of human victims as spirit watchers at each corner of the walls of Mandalay affords an interesting example of a sacrifice, that has been common at all ages and in many lands for the purpose of securing the foundations of cities and of rendering their walls impregnable. Cf. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, p. 106 sqq.; B. Schmid, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 196 sqq.; Frazer, *Pausania's Description of Greece*, Comm. Vol. III, p. 468.

tomb [A-3 on plan]. It is gilded and covered with glass mosaic, and is a simulation in brick and mortar of the usual seven-storeyed spire built of wood. It is a beautiful specimen of Burmese art, and, like the Tāj Mahall, is seen at its best by moonlight, when the scintillations of the glass mosaic transform it into a fairy-like structure. This was renovated by the Public Works Department in 1898, and the work now seen is of quite recent date. Nothing of the old work remains.

To the south of the Tooth-relic Tower, and resting against the inner wall, was the *Hluttaw* or Supreme Council Hall [A-4 on plan]. Here all state business was transacted. It was the highest tribunal in the realm, as all cases were decided by the King in Council. In the absence of the King, the powers of the Presiding Judge were relegated to the Heir-Apparent, or to some other member of the Royal Family, who was specially chosen for his tact, talent, integrity and sound judgment.

The building consisted of two three-roofed wooden structures recalling to mind the cognate architecture of Nepal. The outer structure was reserved for the officials and the litigants; and the four *Wungyis* or Chief Ministers sat each leaning against a heavily gilt column and facing a throne placed in the inner structure. The Throne was separated from the seats of the *Wungyis* by a gilt wooden railing. The railing consisted of an upper and lower band of rosettes enclosing cylinders with central bulbs.

The Throne is a gorgeous structure covered with gilding and glass mosaic. It was treason for anybody but the King to sit on it. It is called the "Sihāsana" or the Lion Throne, and is an exact replica of that in the Great Audience Hall. A gilt wooden figure of the lion is placed on each side of it. It is approached by steps from behind, as in the case of the Throne of the Great Mughal at Delhi, through a folding door of gilt iron screen work. In shape it is like the ordinary pedestal supporting an image of Buddha, narrowing at the centre and expanding above and below. The lintel of the doorway consists of two curved, dragon-like ornaments, which are surmounted by a row of the

figures of 16 *nats* or *devas* with Sakra in the middle. Sakra or Indra is the lord of all *devas*, and is the "Recording Angel of Buddhism," and his presence as a tutelary deity is required in the transaction of public business as well as in the performance of religious ceremonies. Sakra's abode is called the "Tāvātimsa" or the "Heaven of the Thirty-three *Devas*." What Sakra is to Tāvātimsa, *i.e.* supreme and dominant, so is the sovereign to his kingdom.

On the outer edge of each jamb and attached to a line of rosettes is a row of the figures of seven *devas*; and, at the foot of the inner edge of each jamb, is also the figure of a *deva*. Below the lintel the number of *devas* represented, exclusive of the two figures on the top of the jambs and of the sun-god and moon-god, is 16; and above it, the number is the same; over all presides the Sakra. Thus the total number of *devas* shown is "thirty-three," corresponding to that of the "Tāvātimsa."

The Burmese Kings claimed descent from the Solar and Lunar dynasties of India; hence it was essential that this genealogy should be symbolized on the centre of the jamb; to the left of the occupant is depicted the figure of a peacock, which represents the sun, and facing it on the right jamb is the figure of a hare, which represents the moon. According to the Aryan or Indian custom, the right is the side of honour, as with the right hand are associated dignity, courage, and strength; but, according to Mongolian or Chinese custom, the left is the side of honour, because the right is the working or servile hand, and because with the left hand are associated repose and peace, which are enjoyed by the master rather than by the slave. It is to harmonize with Mongolian custom that the sun, as the superior of the two planets, is represented on the left, and the moon on the right. This is, indeed, a striking instance of the commingling of Aryan and Mongolian ideas in Burma. Over the peacock and the hare are placed respectively the sun-god and the moon-god. On the top of each jamb is a *deva* holding a fan or *chowri* made of *yak* hair, which is included in the regalia of a king. These two *devas* are bearers of the emblem of sovereignty of their King Sakra.

There remain only two more figures requiring explanation. They are attached to the centre of the folding door of gilt iron screen work. On the left is Brahmā, and on the right Sakra, the former being the superior of the two. At the coronation of a Burmese King, the assistance of these two deities, as well as that of Visnu, was invoked, in their capacity as Hindu gods, rather than as *devas* of the Buddhist cosmogony.

The *Hluttaw* and its appurtenances, having become unsafe, have been demolished, and the Lion Throne has been deposited in the Indian Museum at Calcutta.

To the east of the Tooth-relic Tower is King Thibaw's monastery (A-5 on plan). It is an elaborately carved building of exquisite proportions, and serves as a perfect model of similar structures throughout the country. On the site of this *Kyaung* lived Thibaw when he was an obscure Prince, whom nobody ever expected to see on the throne of Upper Burma. He donned the yellow garb, and passed his time laboriously and strenuously in the midst of Pāli palm-leaf manuscripts. It was from the cloister that he was suddenly and unexpectedly summoned to assume regal power. When he became king, he built this monastery in order to commemorate his past happy life in learned seclusion.

This building faces north on account of circumscribed space. It consists of four divisions, *viz.* :

- (i) The *Pyatthat saung*, with the seven-roofed spire, or the chapel, where images of Buddha are kept ;
- (ii) The *Sanu zaung*, or the Master's quarters, where the *Sadaw*, or presiding Abbot, lives ;
- (iii) The *Saungmagyi*, with triple roofs, or the hall, where lectures are given, ceremonies are held, and junior monks are provided with apartments ;
- (iv) The *Bawga zaung*, or the dormitory of junior monks.

When completed by Thibaw in 1879, it was heavily gilt. Its loss of gilding has made it somewhat tawdry ; but the carving is still well preserved.

After the British annexation, it was used as a Military Protestant Chapel.

Entering the second enclosure by the main or Eastern Gate to the right of the *Hluttaw*, one is confronted by the seven-roofed *Shwepyathat*, the golden pyramidal spire over the Great Audience Hall, which is the pride and glory of the Burmese Palace as well as its most distinctive feature [A-6 on plan]. It is surmounted by a *ti* or umbrella of iron-work resting on a *sikra*. The umbrella is the symbol of sovereignty, and the *sikra* of divine right. Next comes a lotus-bud capital of duplicated and inverted form. Below these are the seven pyramidal roofs with carved gables. The original plank roofing of this and other Palace buildings was replaced with corrugated iron by King Mindôn. Prince Siddhārtha, before he became Buddha, had, for his summer residence, a palace or mansion with seven storeys; and this model was probably adopted in Burma presumably because of its tropical climate. Under the spire is placed a Lion Throne facing the Great Audience Hall. The Chief Queen was invariably present sitting on the right of the King, whenever a *levée* was held. The Heir-Apparent and the principal Ministers of State took their seats on the left of the King, while the seats on the right were reserved for officials of lesser dignity. Foreign embassies were received in this Hall, and three times a year, *viz.*, at the Burmese New Year in April, at the beginning of Buddhist Lent in June, and at the end of Lent in October, the King and his Chief Queen received the homage of their subjects. No ladies were admitted into this Hall, their homage on the above occasions being received in the Lily Throne Hall at the west end of the Palace.

The spire, as the emblem of sovereignty, must be *shikoed* or *kowtowed* to by all tributary Chiefs and their Ministers, whenever they visited the capital, or whenever they received Royal presents or decrees in their own States. He who refused to conform to this custom was declared to be a rebel and was accused of high treason. Even criminals, before execution, had to kneel down and prostrate three times towards the Palace spire as a farewell act of allegiance and fidelity to the Throne and Person of the King. A similar custom obtains in China, and it finds a parallel among

Moslems facing towards Mecca, and among Jews facing towards Jerusalem whenever they are engaged in prayer, and in the eastward position of Christians reciting the creed.

It would be interesting to trace the migration of this seven-roofed spire from the land of its birth, *viz.*, Kapilavastu (Nipal) and Magadha (Bihar) to Kashmir, Tibet, Assam, Manipur, Burma, China, Siam, Cambodia, and Java. In China, it may be remarked, the shape of the structure is not tapering or pyramidal, but cylindrical and uniform, while the inside is hollow and may be ascended to the uppermost storey by means of steps. But there, as elsewhere, the number of storeys is always odd, *viz.*, 3, 5, 7 or 9, reflecting the prototype in Kapilavastu.

The separation of the sexes in State ceremonies necessitated the provision of a different hall for ladies, and the Lily Throne Hall [VIII on plan] was assigned for this purpose. This Hall is an exact counterpart of the Lion Throne Hall and was used for similar ceremonies. In November 1901, the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, held a Darbar in it, and its surroundings and associations lent an air of splendour and magnificence befitting the occasion. It was then occupied by the Upper Burma Club, but the quarters of the latter have since been removed.

In this connection, it may be interesting to note that in the Palace there were eight thrones provided for the King and Chief Queen.

These were (marked I to VIII on plan) :—

- (1) The Lion Throne in the Great Audience Hall ;
- (2) The Brahmani Goose Throne in the Ancestral Hall ;
- (3) The Elephant Throne in the Privy Council Hall ;
- (4) The Bee Throne in the Glass Palace ;
- (5) The Conch Throne in the Morning Levée Hall ;
- (6) The Deer Throne in the Southern Hall ;
- (7) The Peacock Throne in the Northern Hall ;
- (8) The Lily Throne in the Ladies' Hall.

The distinctive name of each Throne, with the exception of the Lily Throne, is due to the nature of the two figures placed before it as well as of those placed in the small square

niches cut in the pedestal. The Lion Throne or Sihāsana was evidently derived from Kapilavastu. The lion is the king among beasts and denotes courage, strength, endurance, and power. Gautama Buddha was called “Sākyasiha,” the “Lion of the Sākya Clan,” and “Narasiha,” the “Lion amongst Men.” When Suddhodana, the father of Buddha, died, his remains were placed in a coffin, which was set “upon the throne ornamented with lions.”¹ Ruli, son of Pasenadi, King of Kosala, was sitting on a Lion Throne “when he was sarcastically reviled by members of the Sākya clan for presuming to sit on the throne, he being of ignoble birth.”² At the first Buddhist Council, held immediately after Buddha’s death in 543 B.C., “Kashiapa appointed that Ananda should sit on the Lion Throne, with a thousand secretaries before him. They took down his words while he repeated the *Dharma* as he had heard it from Buddha.”³

The Bee Throne (Bhamarāsana) in the *Hman Nan* or Glass Palace; the Elephant Throne (Gajāsana) in the *Byèdaik* or Privy Council Hall, and the Brahmani Goose Throne (Hamsāsana) in the Ancestral Hall, were evidently derived from the Talaings, whose power was supplanted by the Burmese. A beehive was regarded as an omen of power and prosperity; and it is recorded in Talaing history that, during the reign of Wareru (1281—1306 A.D.), a hive of bees settled on one of the city gates of Martaban, and gladdened the heart of the King.

“*Byèdaik*” is a Talaing word signifying a room for young Ministers in attendance, and, as a State Department, it corresponds to the Board of Civil Appointments at Peking. Whenever the King attended in person the Council of the *Atwinwuns*, he would sit on the Elephant Throne. A *Cakravartin* or Universal Monarch must have a white elephant called the *Uposatha*; and the elephant serves as one of the symbols of sovereignty.

The Hamsa bird or Brahmani Goose was sacred to the Talaings. It signifies purity, dignity, and gentleness. One

¹ Edkins' *Chinese Buddhism*, page 44.

² *Ibid*, page 45.

³ *Ibid*, pages 64, 65.

of the three main divisions of their country was named after it and called "Hamsavati" (the modern Hanthawaddy). It was in the Goose Throne Hall that golden figures of the Kings and Chief Queens of the Alompra dynasty were kept and adored by the reigning sovereign. Prayers in the Pāli language were specially composed for recitation whenever offerings were made to these figures.

The Conch Throne (Sankhāsana) and Lily Throne (Padumāsana) were apparently derived from Vaisnavism. One of the many hands of a figure of Visnu holds a conch shell, and Visnu and Laksmī are depicted as seated on a throne supported by a lotus. The Lily Throne also stands on a lotus in full bloom.

The Deer Throne (Migāsana) and Peacock Throne (Mayurāsana) recall the hunting habits of the Kings of the Maurya dynasty of Magadha. Hunting was of two kinds: hunting of quadrupeds with dogs,¹ and hunting of birds with falcons. The quarry of deer, etc., was exhibited in the Southern Hall, and that of birds in the Northern; and seated on the throne, the King would discuss the topics of the chase with his attendants. The introduction of Buddhism, which forbids the taking of life, changed the character of these two thrones. Seated on the Deer Throne the Kings would inspect the offerings to be made to monks, and seated on the Peacock Throne² he would review troops, races, and tournaments.

At one time, it was seriously suggested that the Palace should be demolished lest hopes as to the revival of the Burmese Monarchy should be kept alive; but fortunately wiser counsels prevailed, and the main buildings were kept intact. In this connection, the words of the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, recorded in his Minute dated the 2nd December 1901, may be cited:—

"Moreover, its survival and maintenance are both a compliment to the sentiments of the Burmese race, showing

¹ The ancient Indian custom of hunting with dogs is referred to at page 363 of McCrindle's *Ancient India; its invasion by Alexander the Great.*

² The ancient Indian custom of rearing tame peacocks and tame pheasants is referred to at page 362, *ibid.*

them that we have no desire to obliterate the relics of the past sovereignty, and a reminder that it has now passed for ever into our hands. I attach no value to the plea that the Burmans will be led by the preservation of the Palace to think that there is a chance that the Monarchy will one day be restored. Any such fanciful notion, even if it exists, cannot long survive. No one believes for a moment, because we preserve and are restoring the palaces of the Mughals at Agra, that we contemplate placing that dynasty again on the throne."

In November 1901, Lord Curzon made a minute inspection of the Palace, and arranged for its evacuation by the Upper Burma Club, Garrison Church and certain Government Offices, as also for the dismantling of the *Hluttaw* and the repair and restoration of the wooden pavilions on the walls of Fort Dufferin. As stated above, the Lion Throne in the *Hluttaw* was removed to Calcutta and set up in the Indian Museum there. In accordance with the orders issued by His Excellency, estimates were framed and sanctioned as follows :—

	Rs.
Construction of new pavilions on the walls of Fort Dufferin 	43,968
Repairs to existing pavilions 	23,000
Restoration of Palace buildings 	5,280
Total ...	<u>72,248</u>

Originally, there were 48 *pyatthats* or pavilions on the walls of Fort Dufferin, namely, 4 at the corners, 12 over the gateways, and 32 occupying intermediate positions between the gateways. The corner *pyatthats* are larger than the intermediate ones, but have the same number of roofs, namely 5. Seven out of the 48 pavilions had disappeared owing to destruction by fire or natural decay ; and, by March 1903, 5 new ones had been constructed. Out of the remaining 41, 37 were in need of minor repairs, as re-roofing, putting in new eaves and carving, and substituting new posts for those decayed. The execution of all the necessary

repairs has been nearly completed, only three pavilions remaining to be taken in hand.

In the Burmese King's time, the gateways, the curtains masking them, and the bridges across the moat were all whitewashed, white no less than red being the colour of Burmese Royalty. After the British annexation of Upper Burma, the Public Works Department had these structures coloured light grey. Under His Excellency's orders, the original whitewash has been restored.

In King Thibaw's time whitewash was applied to three interior rooms, because of their darkness. They have now been re-whitewashed.

The Crimson Throne, upon which stood the small gold images, has been replaced behind the throne door where it stood in King Thibaw's time. The lions that stood on either side of the Lion Throne in the Audience Hall have been recovered, regilt and replaced. One was recovered from the Palace garden, and the other had to be made. Perforated zinc doors behind the throne entrances have been repaired; and all thrones have been properly placed with reference to the relative position between them and the umbrella stands. The masonry pillars outside the Peacock Throne have been re-erected perpendicularly. The panels, with glass incrustations, have been replaced in their original position.

TAW SEIN KO.

Catalogue of Exhibits in the Mandalay Museum.

EXHIBIT I.—*Native drawing—Fort Dufferin and Environs.*

EXHIBIT II.—*Court robes and dresses of Burmese King, Queen, Prince, Princess, Ministers, etc.*

A.—Models of court robes of the following displayed on wooden figures :

- | | |
|----------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. The King. | 5. The Prime Minister. |
| 2. The Queen. | 6. The Prime Minister's Wife. |
| 3. A Prince. | 7. A Military Officer. |
| 4. A Princess. | 8. A Soldier. |

B.—Court robes :

1. Court robe consisting of the head-dress, jacket, belt and lower garment of the Shwedaik *Atwin Wun* Kadaw (Wife of the late Shwedaik *Atwin Wun*).
2. Court robe and head-dress of the late Shwedaik *Atwin Wun*.
3. Court robe and head-dress of the late Hlethin *Atwin Wun*.
4. Court robe of the late Yindaw *Myowun U Pe Si*, C.I.E.
5. Court robe of the late Nyaungwun *Wundauk*.
6. Military dress and helmet of the late Hlethin *Atwin Wun*.
7. Military dress and helmet of the late Shwedaik *Atwin Wun*.

EXHIBIT III.—*Wooden figures of :*

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| 1. The King. | 10. The Thagya <i>Min</i> or Indra. |
| 2. The Queen. | 11. A Manipuri or Pônna. |
| 3. A Prince. | 12. A <i>Wun</i> or Burmese Minister in ordinary dress. |
| 4. A Princess. | |
| 5. A Maid-of-Honour. | 13. A Chinese Lady. |
| 6. A Male Attendant. | 14. A European Lady. |
| 7. The Prime Minister. | 15. A Chinese Lady. |
| 8. A Military Officer. | 16. A Shan. |
| 9. A Private Soldier. | |

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| 17. A Shan. | 20. A Burmese Gentleman. |
| 18. A Yogi or Jogi. | 21. A Burmese Minister's |
| 19. A Yogi or Jogi. | Attendant. |

EXHIBIT IV.—*Insignia of Burmese Royalty :*

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Two white umbrellas (large). | 3. One pair of slippers. |
| 2. Six white umbrellas (small). | 4. One Crown. |
| | 5. One <i>chauri</i> fly-flapper. |

EXHIBIT V.—*Insignia of official rank :*

- | | |
|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Umbrella. | 4. Goblet. |
| 2. Sword. | 5. Betel box. |
| 3. Drinking cup. | 6. Slippers. |
| | 7. Head-dress. |
8. Ear ornament and strings of gold.
9. Insignia of foreign orders presented to the late Kinwun *Mingyi*.
10. Addresses presented to the late Kinwun *Mingyi* by the Chambers of Commerce, England, and his replies thereto.
11. Two Sedan Chairs of the late Kinwun *Mingyi*.

EXHIBIT VI.—*Antiquarian collections :*

1. A slab of stone containing, in the upper panel, a figure of Buddha seated cross-legged on a throne flanked by two Bodhisattvas ; in the lower panel a wheel flanked by two couchant deer and four disciples. It represents Gautama Buddha turning the " Wheel of the law " or preaching his first sermon in the Deer Park at Sarnath, near Benares. It was found in the Zegu Pagoda, Hmawza, Prome District, and may be ascribed to the 8th-11th century A.D.
2. (a) and (b). Two small stone *stūpas*, each enshrining in a niche a seated figure of Buddha ; obtained from Ceylon.
3. Figure of *Jambupati* in a *pyatthat*.
4. A box for storing Burmese Manuscripts and Palm-leaves.
5. A wooden pedestal.
6. Two flower stands.

} Presented
by Mr. W.
V. Hoey,
B.A., I.C.S.

7. Four glazed tiles for roofing (in different colours), measuring 9 inches by 6 feet by $\frac{3}{8}$ inch each, collected by the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, from the Kaunghmudaw Pagoda, Sagaing.
8. Six *Nat* figures made of wood, each 8 inches to 20 inches high, collected by the Architectural Surveyor from the Queen's Monastery, Mandalay.
9. Plaques from the Thamidaw Monastery, Myohaung, Amarapura (19th century A.D.).
10. Figure of an elephant in stone from the Nandawye Pagoda, Kyauksè (14th century).
11. Four enamelled plaques from the Shwekugyi Pagoda, Pegu (15th century). (Two Māra's hosts and two Māra's daughters.)
12. Enamelled plaques from Mingun (18th century).
13. Relics from the Shwemyindin Pagoda, Meiktila.
14. Votive tablets from the Bawbawgyi Pagoda, Hmawza, Prome (11th-12th century A.D.).
15. Votive tablets from the Payagyi Pagoda, Hmawza, Prome (11th-12th century A.D.).
16. Votive tablets from Twante (11th-12th century).
17. Two figures of lion in stone (placed at the entrance).
18. Two figures of ogres in stone (placed at the entrance).
19. Two figures of *Nats* or Guardian Spirits in stone (placed at the entrance).

N.B.—No. 19 were recovered from among the *débris* on repairing a part of the Fort Wall, Mandalay.

References to Plan.

- A.—} Zetawun figures of the Royal ancestors were kept
 B.—} here.
- C.—The King here held his morning levée. It is an open passage between two rooms, in the western of which (D) the King was seated with his attendants.
- E.—The Glass Palace. The western half is one large room of great height. Here the Royal nuptials were celebrated. It was also a Royal nursery, and offerings were here presented to Royal infants. The body of King Mindôn lay in state here, on the Water Feast Throne, which stands at the western side of the room. The western half of the building is divided into smaller rooms used as robing-rooms.
- F.—Nursery.
- G.—Daily attendance-room for Queens.
- H.—The King and Queen's special living-room.
- I.—A kind of drawing room, where the Court met to witness theatrical displays in the theatre on the south side. The stage has now been cleared away.
- J.—Originally the Queen's room. Thibaw's eldest child was born here, but Supayalat never regularly inhabited it.
- K.—Tabindaing House. Made over by King Mindôn to the Salin Princess, the daughter of the Linban Queen, whom he intended to be the bride of the next King. On the death of the Salin Princess, it was made over to Supayalat's sister.
- L.—Seindôn House. The residence of the Dowager Queen, Supayalat's mother.
- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <p>M.—The Northern Palace</p> <p>N.—The Western Palace</p> <p>O.—</p> <p>P.—The Southern Palace,
and the range of
houses behind.</p> | } | <p>Houses made over to inferior Queens in King Mindôn's time ; in King Thibaw's time, to Princesses, and used as waiting-rooms for maids-of-honour.</p> |
|--|---|---|

The road running down the centre, east and west, was called the Samôk Road, and led to a courtyard, in the centre of which stood the Lily Throne. This courtyard was called the Samôk, and in the month of May a maze was constructed and brilliantly illuminated, through which the Court passed in procession. The houses on the north and south of this courtyard were inhabited, in King Mindôn's time, by Queens, in Thibaw's time, by Princesses.

fff.—Servants' houses.

Q.—The King's private treasury.

R.—
S.—} Quarters of the personal body-guard.

T.—An evening sitting-room.

U.—Privy Council Chamber now used as a Museum.

V.—Observatory Tower, and favourite resort of Supayalat. From it she watched the British troops enter Mandalay.

W.—The new house built for, but never used by, the white elephant.

X.—Cut up into various small rooms for tea-making, kitchen, and a photographic studio.

Y.—*Byèdaik*, or Treasury Office, where the *Atwin Wuns* or Privy Councillors sat.

Z.—House for *Pwès*, native theatrical performances. The open space east of Z was used for races and various sports on horseback.

A.1.—The Clock Tower, where the gong and drum sounded the watches.

A.2.—Also a high tower in which a tooth of Gautama Buddha was enshrined.

A.3.—King Mindôn's Tomb.

A.4.—*Hluttaw*, or Supreme Council Hall (dismantled).

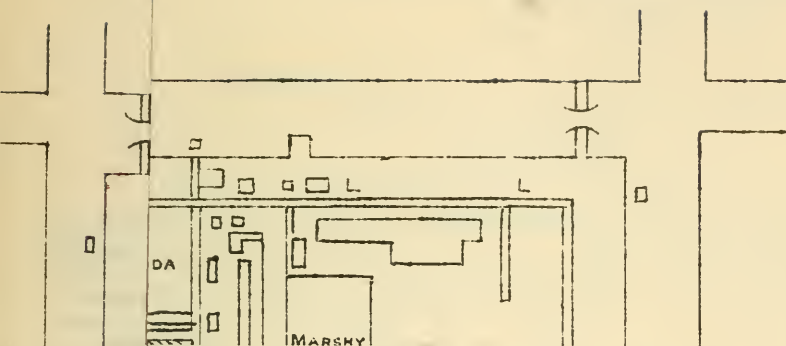
A.5.—A richly decorated Monastery, on the site of which King Thibaw spent the period of his priesthood.

A.6.—Golden Spire over the Great Audience Hall.

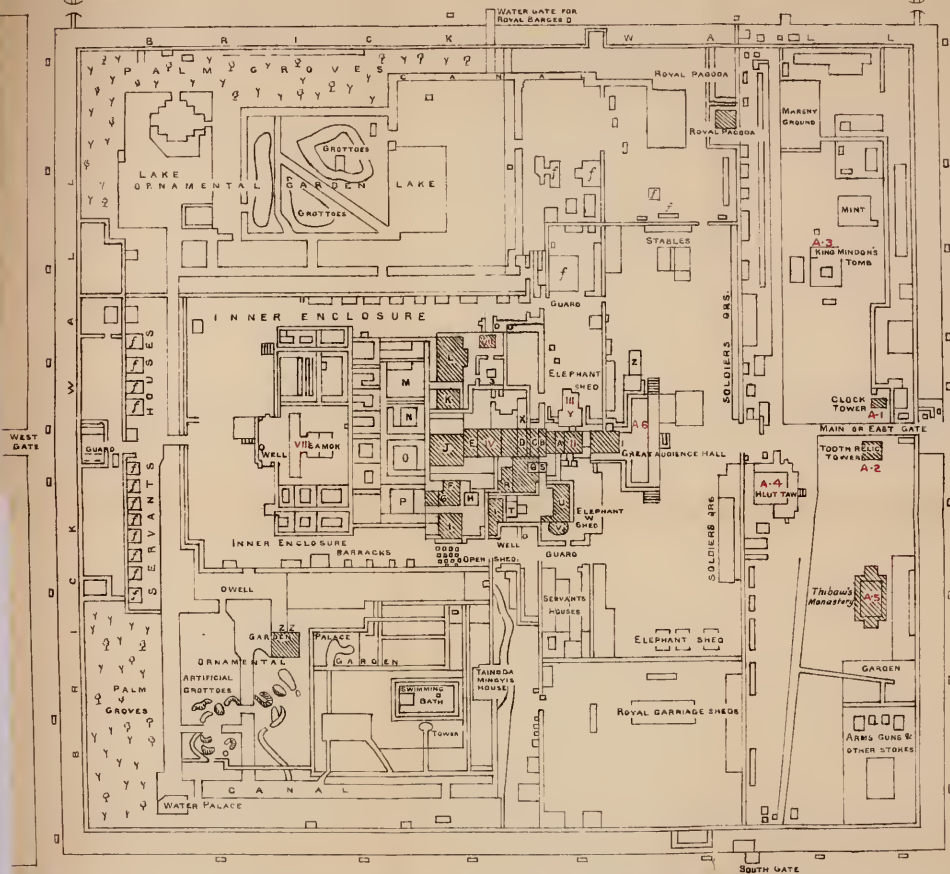
ZZ.—The South Garden Palace. It was used as a kind of picnic-house by King Thibaw, and it was in the front verandah of this house that he was taken prisoner by

Colonel Sladen on the 28th November 1885. This building has been dismantled.

- I.—Lion Throne, in the Great Audience Hall, used three times a year for the reception of Feudatory Chiefs, Ministers, and Members of the Royal Family.
- II.—Duck Throne, in the Ancestral Hall.
- III.—Elephant Throne, in the *Byèdaik*.
- IV.—Bee Throne, in the Glass Palace.
- V.—Conch Throne, in the Morning Levée Hall (dismantled).
- VI.—Deer Throne, in the Southern Hall.
- VII.—Peacock Throne, in the Northern Hall.
- VIII.—Lily Throne, in the Ladies' Hall.



Scale : 300 feet = 1 inch.



Bibliography.

<i>Name of Work.</i>	<i>Name of Author.</i>
The Burmese Empire, 1783—1808	Sangermano.
Embassy to Ava in 1795 ..	Symes.
Journal of a Residence in the Burman Empire	Cox.
Journal of an Embassy to Ava in 1829	Crawford.
Narrative of the Mission to the Court of Ava in 1855 ..	Yule.
British Burma Gazetteer (1880) ..	Spearman.
Burma under British Rule and Before	Nisbet.
The Burman, his Life and Notions	Sir George Scott.
The Silken East	Scott O'Connor.
Mandalay and other Cities in Burma	Scott O'Connor.
Imperial Gazetteer of India— Provincial Series: Burma ..	....
Gazetteer of Upper Burma (1900)	Sir George Scott.
Burma	Bertha and Max. Ferrars.
Burma	Talbot Kelly.
Wanderings in Burma ..	Bird.
History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, 2 volumes ..	Fergusson.
History of Burma	Phayre.
Short History of Burma ..	Cocks.
Burmese Sketches	Taw Sein Ko.
Guide Book to India, Ceylon, and Burma (Tenth edition) ..	Murray. (<i>In Press.</i>)
Annual Reports of the Superin- tendent, Archæological Survey, Burma (1901—1917) ..	....

G.B.C.P.O.—No. 5, S.A.S., 26-6-1917—1,000.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES

MAY 4 1960

LIBRARY
GOVT. PUBS. ROOM

THE LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES